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West Germany's New Era of Instability

Loss by Coalition Partner Could Threaten Party System

By John Vinocur

BONN, June 16 (NYT) — West Germany appears to be entering a period of political instability that could threaten not only the government of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt but also the party system that has developed here since World War II.

The situation has been brought to a critical point by the defeat suffered in state elections June 4 by the Free Democratic Party, the small, liberal group that is joined with the chancellor's Social Democrats in the national governing coalition.

The loss has contributed to a climate that could result by the end of the year in a proliferation of parties on the left and the right, the emergence of a rightist fourth major party, the possible blockage of legislation by a conservative upper house of Parliament, and, eventually, a government crisis. A member of Mr. Schmidt's inner circle termed the situation "new, troubling and unsettled."

"I do not think much of the line to the effect that we're heading toward a new Weimar with

fragmented, increasingly powerless parties," he said, referring to the political confusion of the post-World War I period. "But there is a basic change in the political landscape, and this is absolutely clear."

Failed to Win 5%

The Free Democratic Party's future in national politics was called into question when it failed to win 5 percent of the vote in either Hamburg, where it had governed with the Social Democrats, or in Lower Saxony, where it shared power with the Christian Democrats. It was therefore automatically eliminated under the constitution from all parliamentary representation in the two states.

The Free Democrats won 4.8 percent of the vote in Hamburg and 4.2 percent in Lower Saxony. In the last federal elections in 1976, the Free Democrats won 7.9 percent nationally, just

enough when combined with the Social Democrats' 42.6 percent to give the coalition a 10-seat majority in the lower house of parliament.

The next national elections are in 1980, but the problems for Mr. Schmidt and the political system are immediate.

The government faces the problem of getting its legislation past the opposition's majority in the upper house of Parliament, whose composition is determined by the pattern of control in the state governments. The Free Democrats' defeat in Lower Saxony means that it can no longer use its alliance there with the Christian Democrats as a bargaining point for getting the federal coalition's bills approved.

Before their defeat, the Free Democrats were able to bring their state government coalition to bring pressure on the Christian Democrats so as not to hold up legislation in the upper house

of the national Parliament after bills had been approved in the lower house, where a majority of Social Democrats and Free Democrats exists.

Even more significant is concern over a state election in October in Hesse, where the Social Democrats and Free Democrats govern together.

If the trend continues and the Free Democrats are eliminated from the Hesse Parliament, the likelihood of a national government crisis would be great.

Many politicians in Bonn feel that the Free Democrats would conclude that their association with the Social Democrats had obliterated their image as a middle-road party and that they could remain a political force only by pulling out of the federal coalition. At the same time, Mr. Schmidt would be faced with the question of how to be in a conscience to govern with three of his most important cabinet officers — Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Economy Minister Otto Lambsdorff and Interior Minister Gerhart

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Parliamentary Vote June 28

Italy Parties Start Search For a Successor to Leone

By Henry Tanner

ROME, June 16 (NYT) — Italy's leading political parties — the Christian Democrats and Communists — went out of their way today to create the impression that they will continue their de facto alliance and that the resignation yesterday of President Giovanni Leone will not lead to a political upheaval.

The Communist Party, which yesterday morning formally urged Mr. Leone to step down and thus sealed his fate, was particularly reassuring.

L'Unita, the party's newspaper, praised Mr. Leone for having "refrained from playing the anti-Communist card" in his resignation statement and praised him for accepting the inevitable with dignity and thus serving the country.

leader Enrico Berlinguer is reported by insiders to be an increasingly embattled figure.

On the Christian-Democratic side, the de facto alliance is under attack from the right-wing members of the party who are expected to seize the opportunity to make it

difficult for the party leaders to continue their cooperation with the Communists.

However, if the de facto alliance between the Communists and the Christian Democrats holds, the new president will in all probability be a Christian Democrat.

Newspaper commentators and politicians today were unanimous in naming party secretary Benigno Zaccagnini, Premier Giulio Andreotti and Amintore Fanfani, the Senate president who became acting president tonight, as the leading candidates.

Democratic Unity

Italy, more than ever, was in need of "democratic unity," the Communist newspaper wrote. "Democratic unity" and "unity of all democratic forces" are catch phrases often used to allude to the agreement under which the Communist Party has been supporting the Christian-Democratic minority government of Premier Giulio Andreotti.

The editorial was seen as an indication that the Communist leaders are eager to continue the agreement with the Christian Democrats which is the central feature of Italian politics now.

The Christian Democrats carefully refrained from attacking the Communists for their role in precipitating Mr. Leone's resignation.

Yet, in spite of the official restraint, there is a wide expectation that the campaign for the election of the new president will touch off a deeply disruptive process that the leaders of the two parties may find difficult to control.

The balloting is secret, which allows the members of Parliament and the 61 regional representatives that are added to the electoral college for the occasion to flout party instructions at will.

The electoral college this year will have 1,011 members — 630 deputies, 320 senators in addition to the regional representatives.

The election will begin 15 days from yesterday at the latest, under the constitution. Informed sources today said that the most likely date would be June 28.

The leaders of both major parties will be under pressure from their own electorate to play it tough.

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Soweto students sing and cheer speakers at memorial services at Regina Mundi Church.

Two Years After Riots

Soweto Blacks Hold Memorials

SOWETO, South Africa, June 16 (AP) — Shouting "Power!" and raising clenched-fist salutes, Soweto's leaders today denounced racial oppression in white-ruled South Africa. They held scattered memorial church services observing the anniversary of the anti-government riots of 1976.

Squads of police threw up roadblocks inside the sprawling black township near Johannesburg and ringed the churches where services were held.

Cars were searched and people frisked as thousands of blacks trudged to the churches to honor the more than 600 blacks killed in nationwide rioting that erupted in Soweto on June 16, 1976, and later spread to other cities.

At the Roman Catholic Regina Mundi Church, Nthato Motlana, recently released from police detention and one of Soweto's most influential community leaders, was repeatedly cheered as he attacked South Africa's racial policies.

"Let us dedicate ourselves until a new order is brought in, until man

is judged for what he is worth, paid for what he has done and until the majority of people is given what is rightfully theirs," he said to 3,000 blacks packing the church.

"We will not lie down and let the security police walk over us with their jackboots," he vowed.

Mr. Motlana was formerly head of the Soweto Committee of 10, which was banned in the nationwide security crackdown on black protesters last Oct. 19.

Shops in the segregated township

were shut between noon and 2 p.m. as a gesture of solidarity.

The handful of black organizations that have survived government crackdowns in recent years — such as the Soweto Action Committee and the Soweto Students' League — called for peaceful commemorations.

Of 1.2 million residents about 15 miles southwest of Johannesburg, about 600 arrests have been reported in the Johannesburg area at police roadblocks in the past two days.

Smith Concedes Rhodesia Lags in War on Guerrillas

By Jay Ross

WASHINGTON, June 16 (WP) — In his most pessimistic assessment since forming an interim government with internal black leaders three months ago, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith has admitted

that military efforts to end the 5-year-old guerrilla war are not succeeding.

Mr. Smith, in a television interview yesterday, appealed to the United States and Britain to resolve the situation with "one stroke of the pen" by accepting the agreement he worked out in March for qualified majority rule. This, he said, would lead to international recognition of Rhodesia, lifting of trade sanctions and an end to the war in the breakaway colony, where blacks outnumber whites by more than 20 to 1.

"I concede that we are not succeeding as we had hoped I am

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

U.S. Launches GOES To Watch Weather

CAPE CANAVERAL, June 16 (UPI) — A three-stage Delta rocket today launched GOES-C, a satellite designed to anticipate and chart worldwide weather conditions, toward an orbit 22,300 miles above the earth.

The 1,385-pound, 11-foot-long device is the final link in an international weather reporting network. Scientists say that the Geostationary Operational Environmental Satellite will beam back information about the probable path of hurricanes, tidal waves and landslides.

To Continue Experiments

2 Cosmonauts Head For Salyut Docking

MOSCOW, June 16 (UPI) — The Soyuz 29 spacecraft today headed toward a rendezvous with the Salyut 6 orbital laboratory, carrying two cosmonauts launched into space three months after two cosmonauts returned from a record mission.

Tass reported that cosmonauts Vladimir Kovalenok, the flight commander, and Alexander Ivanchenkov, the flight engineer, were launched at 11:17 p.m. yesterday.

"All systems aboard the Soyuz 29 are functioning normally," and both cosmonauts "are feeling fine," Tass reported several hours after the launch. Tass later reported that by noon, the Soyuz 29 "completed nine orbits around the earth. A trajectory correction was completed."

"According to the data of telemetrical information and cosmonaut reports, all the onboard systems of the ship function normally," Tass said.

Mr. Kovalenok, 36, and Mr. Ivanchenkov, 37, were launched three months after Soyuz 26 cosmonauts Georgi Grechko and Yuri Romanenko returned to Earth March 16 after a record 96 days in space aboard Salyut 6.

space. On his first space mission as the rookie commander of Soyuz 25 last October, Mr. Kovalenok ran into docking difficulties and had to abort his flight and return to Earth without linking up with Salyut 6.

Mr. Ivanchenkov, a spacecraft designer and standby cosmonaut for several Soyuz missions, is making his first space flight.

Purpose Not Given

Tass gave no indication of the purpose of their mission other than to say that the cosmonauts planned to dock with Salyut 6 and continue the "explorations and experiments" begun by Soyuz 26.

Launched last September, the Salyut orbital lab was used in several space firsts for the Soviet Union's intensive manned space program.

In January, Soyuz 26 and Soyuz 27 linked with the lab for the first double-docking in space. Five days later, an unmanned Progress 1 capsule brought supplies to the station in the first linkup of a robot capsule with a manned orbital station.



Flight engineer Alexander Ivanchenkov, foreground, and Lt. Col. Vladimir Kovalenok, the commander, board Soyuz 29.

Carter Is Cheered in Panama

PANAMA CITY, June 16 (UPI) — Greeted by cheers and "Viva Carter" chants, President Jimmy Carter arrived today to seal the Panama Canal treaties in heavily guarded ceremonies marking what he called "a moment of great historic importance."

With National Guardsmen at key points in the capital, thousands of pro-treaty Panamanians came out in the streets to provide a festive setting for the two-day ceremonial visit.

Panamanian strongman Gen. Omar Torrijos led thousands of flag-waving, flower-bearing schoolchildren clad in colorful uniforms in the Tocumen International Airport arrival ceremony.

Friend and Supporter

As the children cheered, chanted and tossed flower petals in his direction, Mr. Carter told them, in Spanish, "I come here not as a foreigner, but as a friend and supporter."

He said that today's formal exchange of treaty ratifying docu-

ments was "a moment of great historic importance."

"Too much blood, too much strife, too much bitterness have gone into many past changes in control of the Earth's natural and man-made passages," he said.

"Today, there will be no bloodshed, no bitterness, no instance when the path between the two great oceans will be closed."

Gen. Torrijos assembled masses of government workers, pro-treaty

students and country folk to insure a peaceful, manageable festivities in honor of the event. A national holiday was declared, but there was no 21-gun salute.

"It is better to hear the singing of the children than the cannon," Gen. Torrijos said.

The president, Mrs. Carter and a 19-member congressional delegation plunged immediately into a hectic, two-day round of public appearances designed to inaugurate a new era of goodwill in U.S.-Latin American relations.

But the mood was an odd mixture of gaiety and tension in this tropical capital, where some citizens consider the treaties a sellout and where street fighting erupted briefly Wednesday night.

Some red-daubed "Carter Go Home" and "Panama Yes, Carter No" slogans were still visible on building walls despite the efforts of work brigades assigned to erase them.

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Docking Planned

Tass said that Mr. Kovalenok and Mr. Ivanchenkov planned to dock with the orbiting station but did not indicate how long they would stay or whether they would attempt to break the record.

For Mr. Kovalenok, a former paratrooper instructor and veteran cosmonaut, the flight was a second chance to keep an appointment in

Begin Devises A Compromise On Arab Lands

JERUSALEM, June 16 (UPI) — Prime Minister Menachem Begin proposed a compromise formula for Israel's answers about the future of the occupied Arab territories and consulted with key ministers today in an attempt to unite the Cabinet behind him.

Mr. Begin, at home for a working vacation, met separately with Defense Minister Ezer Weizman and Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan. He was to meet with other ministers later in the day.

The United States wants to know whether a final settlement on the West Bank and Gaza will be possible after five years of limited Arab self-rule, and if the Palestinians will have some political self-expression at the end of that time.

Mr. Begin's compromise is said to take into account the positions of Mr. Weizman and Mr. Dayan, while making certain Israel does not commit itself now to settling the final status for the territories. Mr. Weizman and Mr. Dayan have called for "positively phrased responses."

Government officials and political sources agreed that the atmosphere of a potential government crisis had subsided, and sources close to Mr. Begin said they expected the Cabinet could vote on an formula at its weekly session Sunday.

Jerusalem Bus Bombed

JERUSALEM, June 16 (AP) — A bomb exploded under a tourist bus in East Jerusalem yesterday, damaging the vehicle but injuring no one, a police spokesman announced.

Firms Use Codes for Fear of Computer Crooks

NEW YORK, June 16 (AP-DJ) — Corporations and government agencies are beginning to protect themselves through secret codes that once were the preserve of the military and the diplomatic corps.

Frightened by rising computer crime and worried about the privacy of electronic dossiers, they are turning to codes involving computer-scrambled messages that even someone armed with another powerful computer might need years to untangle.

Moreover, recent encrypting advances seem to promise codes that may never be broken.

Much of the revolution is in the business world. Banks are particularly involved since computers have replaced checks and letters as the means for moving large amounts of money.

The machines are connected in globe-spanning webs of telephone lines and tapping the lines could enable someone to steal huge sums.

For protection, many institutions, among them Citibank, are encoding all traffic on private

wires, such as those between New York and London. All messages on Swift, a computer network that links 500 international banks, also are being encrypted. Some time next year, encrypting machines will be installed on Bankwire, a similar network that transfers about \$20 billion daily between banks in the United States and Canada.

Spread of Cash Machines

Another reason for banks' involvement is the spread of machines that dispense cash and allow the balance in a customer's account to be changed at the touch of a button.

Despite precautions by banks and other businesses, computer crooks are stealing an estimated \$300 million yearly in the United States, and some law experts believe that the take is doubling every year.

Several oil companies have started using ciphers to protect the geological and drilling information

stored in their computers. A Midwestern company that keeps its manufacturing secrets on computer tape is encoding the information to render the tape useless if stolen.

The Agriculture Department is also using ciphers to secure such highly sensitive information as the data that goes into its monthly forecasts of crop production.

A number of corporations and government agencies seem more worried about intercepted messages than about someone walking off with a reel of computer tape.

A construction company, for example, has begun encoding the bids it sends into countries where competitors are government-sponsored.

Another firm has started encrypting messages about executive travel in nations plagued by terrorists.

Restraining the Public

Ford enciphers administrative memos between its headquarters and auto plants around the world.

Several big-city police departments are looking at ciphers as a way to

keep the public from listening to some radio transmissions and Bell Laboratories is testing ways to encode ordinary telephone calls.

According to the U.S. government, the Russians have been gathering vital data on the United States by using computers to sift through long-distance telephone conversations, which travel mainly by microwave these days rather than by wire.

There are devices that can prevent this by scrambling the conversation while it is in the air — where it can easily be intercepted — while enabling each participant in the conversation to hear the other clearly.

Codes would also seem an obvious way to insure the privacy of the fast-expanding computer data banks filled with details about the private lives of millions of Americans. Exxon, Shell and U.S. Steel are using codes to keep prying eyes out of computerized personnel files.

To date, companies that maintain automated credit and medical

histories, believe that their files are safe enough without coding, although some fear that governments may one day impose the technique.

Already, a new West German law requires that those who use data-processing equipment to send private information must guarantee that during transmission the information cannot be read without authorization or undetectably altered. Such a requirement, scientists say, probably cannot be met without coding.

Among the companies that have coding projects under way are Procter & Gamble, Goodyear and Westinghouse.

"Encryption is just beginning," says Robert Reed, manager of information processing at Shugart. "Five years down the road, every major company will be doing a lot of it."

Within the last several months, encrypting products have been put on the market by IBM, Fairchild Camera & Instrument, Motorola, Rockwell International and others.

Cuban Involvement Charge

White House Starts Drive To Back Carter on Zaire

By Bernard Gwertzman

WASHINGTON, June 16 (NYT) — The administration has begun a public effort to substantiate President Carter's assertion Wednesday that he had "firm proof" of Cuba's involvement in training the Katangan rebels who invaded Zaire last month from bases in Angola.

Faced with repeated denials of Cuban involvement by President Fidel Castro, and statements of skepticism about Mr. Carter's evidence from some members of Congress, the White House was concerned that Mr. Carter's credibility was being challenged, officials acknowledged yesterday.

Until now, the administration had refused to make public any documentation of the charges against Cuba. But starting Wednesday, presidential press secretary Jody Powell authorized private disclosure to reporters of the contents of a declassified memorandum written on June 2 by Herbert Hetu, the CIA's head of public information, that summarizes the administration's arguments.

A CIA spokesman said yesterday that Mr. Hetu had not actually drafted the material but only conveyed it in memo form to the White House, which, the spokesman said, wanted "a sanitized" statement about the intelligence information.

No Details on Sources

The memorandum asserts that "evidence from a wide variety of sources over the past two years refutes Castro's denials of any direct or indirect involvement." But it lacks details on the sources of the CIA information, the withholding of which has produced the most criticism on Capitol Hill.

A Democratic member of the House, who requested anonymity, said: "I think an impartial jury would acquit Castro for lack of evidence."

The Katangans, members of the Lunda tribe that predominates in northeastern Angola and southern Zaire, crossed into Shaba province in southern Zaire from Angola, via Zambia, on May 13 and captured the town of Kolwezi, which they left a few days later. In March of last year the Katangans also crossed into Zaire and were repelled two months later.

In the first days after the latest Katangan incursion, the Zaire government charged that the Cubans were behind it. But the Carter administration would not confirm the contention until May 19, when a State Department spokesman, Tom Reston, said that new information had become available showing "recent" Cuban training of the rebels. It had been known — and acknowledged by Mr. Castro — that Katangans received Cuban training in 1975. But the Cuban leader, in a meeting with the chief U.S. diplomat in Havana on May 17, specifically denied recent involvement.

Since Mr. Reston's statement, expanded by Mr. Carter on May 25 and again Wednesday, the administration has been trying to prove its case.

Evidence Contradicts Castro

The CIA memorandum said that "no independent information" was available to confirm press reports that Cubans had actually accompanied the Katangans into Zaire. But the evidence, it said, does "contra-

dict" Mr. Castro's other disclaimers.

The memo asserted that: "As early as the summer of 1976, Soviet and Cuban advisers requested President Agostinho Neto of Angola 'to support incursions by Katangans into Zaire.' No source of the information was listed."

In mid-1976, Cuban and East German officials provided military training to the Katangans at Sauro airbase in Lunda province. No source was given.

The invasion of Zaire in March of last year was supported by Cuban troops in Lunda province who were with the Katangan troops prior to and at the time of the invasion. No source was given.

After the first invasion, military training for the Katangans continued in northeastern Angola with the active support of Cuban instructors. During the summer, the guerrillas established training bases in at least five Angolan towns: Cazombo, Nova Chaves, Chicapa, Saurimo and Camissombo. No source was given.

In August of last year, 5,000 Katangan recruits and 1,500 veterans of the first Shaba invasion were reported to be under the control of Cuban and East German instructors. Moreover, "Cuban and Angolan troops transported large quantities of weapons from Luanda to a camp near Cazombo for the use of Katangans around this time."

Early this year the Katangan leader, Gen. Nathaniel M'Bumbo, announced his intention to invade Zaire and said that Cubans were providing arms and training. It was reported elsewhere that this was done in a letter to the Zambian government.

At the same time, Cubans were reportedly organizing the movement of a large number of Katangan troops from northeast Angola toward the Zambian border, and the Cubans accompanied the force as advisers. No source was given.

The memorandum listed three major conclusions:

"The Cuban presence in Angola is pervasive. Little of importance is done without their involvement."

"Katangan insurgents have been trained and armed by the Cubans in a possibly by the East German government for several years. This assistance has had the active support of the Angolan government. The Soviets have been indirectly involved in this activity."

"The May, 1978, invasion of Shaba province, as well as the March, 1977, attack took place with the cooperation of the Angolan government and the Cubans."

Several senators, when apprised of the CIA memorandum, said that it was a close summary of what they had been told by Adm. Turner, the CIA director and that it still lacked the sourcing details that they requested.

Traditionally, the intelligence community has been extremely reluctant to provide details about the sources of information.



LUNAR TRAILS — Like the fabled cow that jumped over the moon, this jet appears to be attempting the same feat, leaving a vapor trail to mark its path over the crescent. Photograph was taken from Traverse City, Mich., on a clear, spring night with a 500mm mirror lens.

Frustrations of Underseas Cold War

Navy Says Trawlers Foul Sub Detection

By George C. Wilson

WASHINGTON, June 16 (WP) — The Navy has just given the public a rare glimpse of the frustrations of waging the Cold War by telling Congress that trawlers are ripping up the secret eavesdropping system the United States has laid on the ocean bottom.

"Things are so bad, Adm. James Holloway told the Senate Armed Services Committee, in testimony recently made public, that the Navy needs to build a \$191-million ship just to keep the underwater listening system working."

Although some Navy officers grumble that Soviet trawlers are breaking up the submarine warning network on purpose, this was not the official Navy position when the service was asked yesterday.

"Fishing trawlers from various nations" have broken the transmission cables that connect underwater microphones to receiving centers on shore, the Navy statement said. "These occurrences are not considered to be deliberate. We cannot confirm that any of these trawlers have been Soviet."

Underwater Sounds

The Navy underwater warning network, once a closely held national secret, is called SOSUS, for sound surveillance system. The underwater microphones pick up the ocean sounds for hundreds of miles around and send them through the cables to land buildings behind chain-link fences spaced along the Atlantic Coast.

Thanks to other stealthy eavesdropping under the sea, computers have been fed the characteristic noises that each of the operational Soviet subs. In a bit of computerized detective work that the Russians cannot yet duplicate, the U.S. intelligence apparatus sorts out the sounds that the SOSUS system picks up and identifies any passing Soviet submarines.

SOSUS can tell which submarine is out there and the direction it is headed.

In a period of international crisis, knowing the location of Soviet submarines within missile range of the United States would enable destroyers and anti-submarine planes to rush to the spots for possible combat.

The United States has an "awesome" edge over the Soviet Union in the art of anti-submarine warfare, according to Navy Secretary W. Graham Taylor. This may explain why those three recently arrested Soviet UN employees were trying to buy anti-submarine secrets from a U.S. Navy officer.

Vital Part

SOSUS is considered a vital part of the nation's early-warning system against Soviet submarines. Adm. Holloway, chief of Naval

operations, told the Senate Armed Services Committee that he considered buying a new ship to keep SOSUS cables repaired as important as the capability of the SOSUS system," said Adm. Holloway.

"It is largely dependent upon our ability to use those cable-repair ships to repair breaks that are occurring with increasing frequency as the result of trawling operations."

Those undersea-warfare specialists who believe Soviet trawlers are deliberately breaking SOSUS cables contend this would be hard to do. But other officials said that the Soviet Union is not concerned enough about SOSUS to risk an international incident by sabotaging it.

So the ICA, use USA, would become the USAICE.

"The name question is not frivolous or trivial," Sen. McGovern said. As he sees it, the ICA needs a name that "clearly and attractively

conveys its purposes." To his mind, administration worries about possible embarrassment to this country from another change don't carry much weight.

New Stationery

"Much more serious would be the constant embarrassment of retaining a name which nobody can understand, which is frequently confused with the CIA and which detracts from activities of considerable importance to the United States," Sen. McGovern said.

McGovern aide John Ritch confirmed that many examples of confusion between ICA and CIA have come to the committee's attention. "People trying to reach ICA get hooked up with the CIA in Washington, ICA people around the world are introduced as CIA people or mistaken for agents," he said.

The committee is polling members of Fulbright Scholarship commissions around the world — made up of Americans and foreign nationals — and finding that they agree that ICA is a cause of unhappy confusion.

"ICA argues that a change would be embarrassing and cause extra cost [\$175,000 for new stationery and plaques]. When set against a

Foreigners are mistaking ICA for CIA. Overseas editorialists have poked fun. A professor on Taiwan wrote in to call the United States dumb for spreading confusion. Agency officials are dreaming up ways to advertise themselves without saying ICA.

Question 'Not Frivolous'

The time-honored way to deal with these things is to pass a law, which is exactly what Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., proposes to do, changing the ICA's name for the second time in less than three months.

John Reinhardt, director of the ICA, doesn't like the McGovern proposal one bit. He agrees that not everyone likes ICA, but to change the name again would create "incalculable confusion."

Sen. McGovern is undeterred. He is pushing ahead with his proposal, already approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to change ICA to U.S. Agency for Information and Cultural Exchange.

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Beyond the Katanga Tangle

President Carter's vigorous charges that Cuba bore responsibility for last month's invasion of Zaire were unworthy of U.S. diplomacy to begin with. They turned out to be unprovable except by a kind of guilt-by-association. They undoubtedly inflamed U.S. passion for no discernible good reason. And they threatened for a few days this week to embroil the U.S. presidency in another Tonkin-like test of credibility in which a proud and promising new president would have to tangle in the pits with, of all people, Fidel Castro. While pretending to be above such a scrap, Mr. Carter tossed a few more questionable punches on Wednesday, but if that was the price of his resolve to put the matter behind him and look to the future instead, we can all be grateful.

Africa or the disturbing Soviet-Cuban intrusions in the Horn.

If Mr. Carter thought at first that the Cubans were behind this newest trouble, he should have known that they were merely picking at an old sore. By persisting in his angry charges, he was only playing upon dangerous emotions that even stronger presidents have been unable to contain. By depending on what appears to be only circumstantial, and probably dated, evidence of Cuban complicity, he was risking his presidency's highest ambition — a compact of truth with the U.S. people — for what could never be more than a propaganda advantage. Why?

Defining the Cuban thorn as an ulcer has been tried before at the White House. It will end as disastrously in Africa as it has repeatedly in the Caribbean. For all their protestations of brotherhood with anti-colonial Africans, the Cuban's capacity for intercontinental mischief depends entirely on Soviet diplomacy, money and logistics. If the United States has a deep quarrel with Soviet conduct and purposes in Africa — as well it may — the place to bluster and to negotiate is in Moscow, although always with a sense of proportion about the stakes in Zaire or even Rhodesia as against arms control and other East-West connections. If Mr. Carter needs a justification for his own modest exertions and interventions in Africa, let them be calmly and fully placed before Congress. And if Mr. Carter needs to demonstrate toughness with one kind of Communist precisely to salvage SALT and other agreements with others, let him learn from this episode that red dye runs, uncontrollably, in the wash.

The president has said that Mr. Castro could have stopped the Katanga invasion even if he did not start it. Well, maybe. But Mr. Carter began by saying he did not intend to be drawn into a shouting match with the Cuban leader and he ended by saying that he wants to turn to the future. That will test the wisdom and responsibility of everyone's words and actions soon enough.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Spying by the Rules

The process of Soviet-U.S. relations comes down to a continuing quest to draw rules to keep competition within bounds. The pursuit of rules is acknowledged in regard to strategic arms. It is tacit in regard to espionage. Both sides long ago decided to spy — but within limits. Though they surely know or suspect who most of each other's agents are, they grant them entry and let them operate — while keeping an eye on them. The two governments shy from doing physical harm to each other's agents. Political things being equal, each hesitates to embarrass the other's intelligence service by exposure.

In recent months, of course, political things have not been equal. That's why the air has been unusually full of spy charges. By the Soviet version, which some U.S. officials privately accept, the United States bent the rules last month by arresting, publicizing and holding for trial on high bail — rather than quietly expelling — two accused Soviet spies. The Kremlin quietly warned that "two can play at this game." When, soon, further publicity was given to discovery of a Soviet-operated electronic listening post in the U.S. embassy in Moscow, the Russians publicly protested this "artificial aggravation" of East-West relations. In quick sequence they disclosed that they had quietly ousted an

accused U.S. spy last July, and they pulled a U.S. businessman out of his car on a Moscow street on a reported smuggling charge. Apparently he was seized to be exchanged for the arrested Russians; regardless, we do not think his company, International Harvester, should do normal business with the Russians until he is free.

If the United States were prepared to forgo spying there, it would be in a position to crack down hard on Soviet spying here. But espionage conducted inside the Soviet Union remains an attractive and presumably useful supplement to intelligence operations carried on outside.

Experience should have shown what sort of operations — we refer to intelligence collection — have a value worth the stress and risk of conducting. If that means the Soviet Union will continue to enjoy enhanced opportunities to collect intelligence here, then it is the task of U.S. counterintelligence to limit the damage. There is no particular benefit, we feel, in breaking the tacit rules by which these activities go on. The rules not only regulate intelligence operations. They also prevent intelligence activities from souring the climate in which rules on more important matters are pursued.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Live, From the House

A historic moment came and went almost unnoticed in the House of Representatives the other day. There weren't even many yawns since only 16 of the people's representatives were present as the House went on the air live for the first time. The enthusiasm of the broadcasters, too, was exceedingly well contained. Only a single network carried the proceedings, as live as they were, and then only for five minutes.

Rep. John Anderson, R-Ill., disagreed with the honorable member who proclaimed the moment a historic one. Not so, he said, it was, rather, "a historic breakdown" in relations with the media, since only audio broad-

casting was allowed. But would television coverage, cameras sweeping across the banks of empty seats, have added much to the enlightenment of the nation?

Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., who fought and fought against permitting independent live television coverage and succeeded in having the House rather than the networks control the new TV system, can relax. If the first day of radio coverage is any kind of a guide, the House need have no fears: It will be saved from the perils of overexposure by its sheer dullness.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

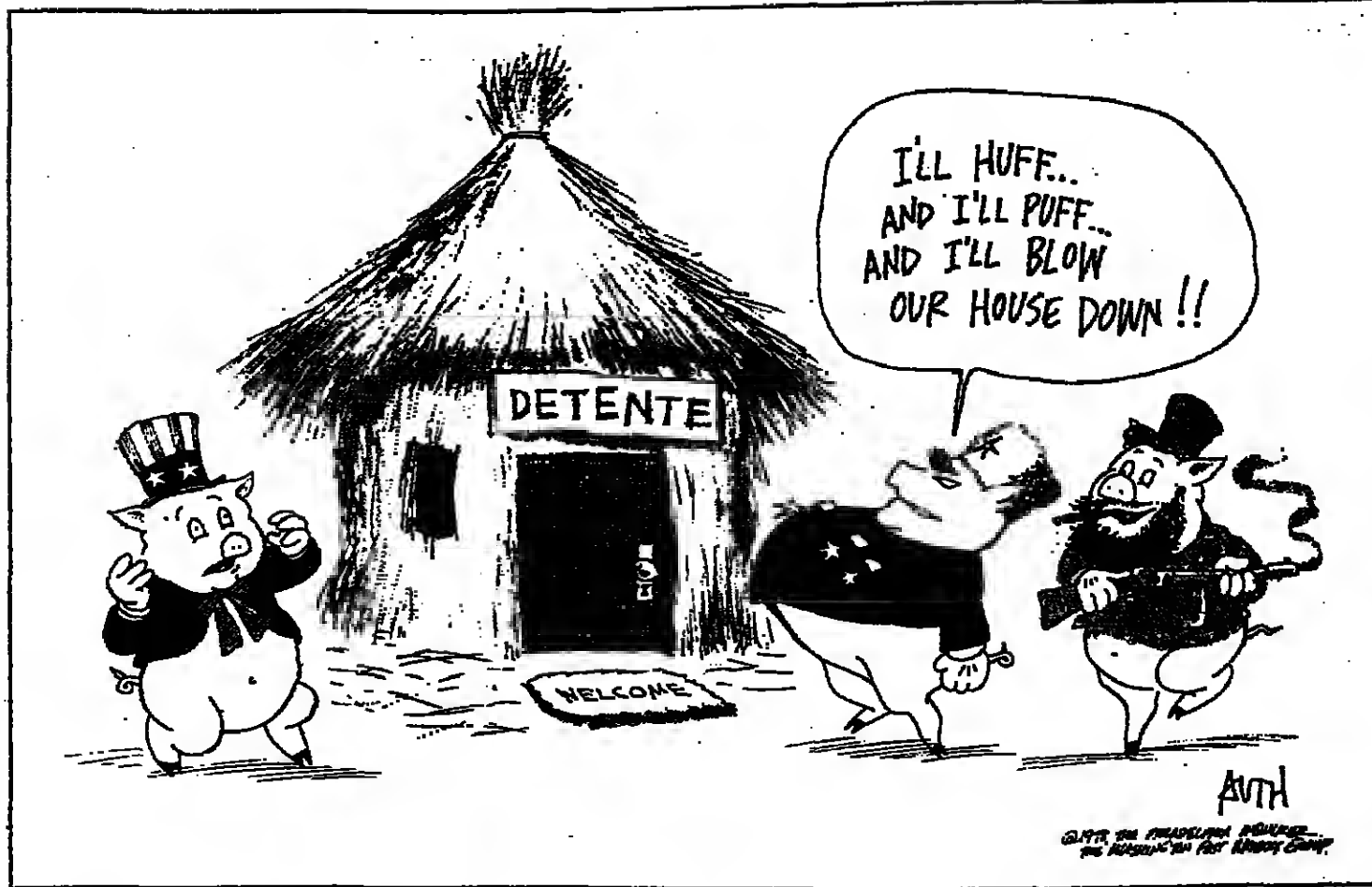
In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago
June 17, 1903

VIENNA — Growing rivalry between Serbian military and civilian leaders is becoming more apparent here following last week's assassination of the king and queen of Serbia and the accession of Prince Karageorgevitch to the throne. Meanwhile, reports of the total indifference of the population of Serbia to events in Belgrade has resulted in attempts by the new government to counter this trend by distributing free photographs of the new king.

Fifty Years Ago
June 17, 1928

BRULE, Wis. — Comfortably established in the summer White House at Cedar Island Lodge here, President Calvin Coolidge laid aside the pen and sallied forth with rod and tackle to test the fishing, for which the Brule River, on which the estate is situated, is famous. He caught a trout, which Secret Service men described as "beautiful," almost in front of the lodge. Both fish and game, including many species of big game, are said to abound on the large estate.



Taiwan: On Severing the China-U.S. Knot

By William Beecher

WASHINGTON — The Carter administration is considering selling 60 F-4 fighter-bombers, worth about \$500 million, to Taiwan.

Ironically, the move, if it is approved by President Carter, would be aimed at paving the way to extending full diplomatic relations to the People's Republic of China, which insists that Taiwan is one of its provinces temporarily beyond its control.

Senior administration officials say that if the United States is to sever its formal diplomatic and military ties to Taiwan, the provision of more modern weapons would accomplish several things:

- It would shore up the self-defense capabilities of Taiwan against either invasion or blockade by mainland China.

- It would tend to undermine the arguments of critics in the United States that the administration for the sake of expediency was turning its back on an old ally and leaving it vulnerable to seizure by Peking.

- It would serve as a warning to China that, as much as the United States wants to improve relations, it also is determined to maintain a military balance between China and Taiwan to discourage the use of force to resolve their difference.

'Obstacles'

On his recent mission to Peking, national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski told Chinese leaders that President Carter is "determined to join you in overcoming the remaining obstacles in the way to full normalization of our relations."

By using the phrase "to join you," officials say, the United States was attempting to stress that mutual efforts and accommodations were deemed necessary.

One such accommodation on China's part, they say, is to accept the continuation of a close U.S. economic, cultural, political and military supply relationship with Taiwan after the United States disestablishes formal government-to-government relations and abrogates the Mutual Security Treaty with it.

Some administration officials are known to favor normalization of relations with China after the November elections. In part to show that the United States moves ahead with a second SALT agreement with the Soviet Union, it is also seeking to improve its standing with the Soviet Union's other principal adversary, China.

After the Vote

But well-placed officials say that although the president has decided to try to take a number of steps toward normalization in the months ahead, he will not decide on the possible timing of a move to establish formal diplomatic ties with Peking until after the elections.

The domestic political climate at that time, the state of relations with the Soviet Union, and the statements and actions of China between now and then will all be weighed by the president when he addresses that decision, sources say.

Administration sources say Taiwan first asked for 60 F-4s about four years ago to replace their aging squadrons of U.S. F-104 jet interceptors.

The United States at the time was reluctant to approve the sale in part because the F-4 is not only a good fighter, but also an excellent tactical bomber which could reach targets deep inside China.

Last year Taiwan actively explored the possibility of acquiring instead Israel's Kfir jet fighter, which uses the same engine as the F-4, the General Electric J-79. But Washington, which would have had to approve the sale because the engine is made in the United States, was cool to the idea. Diplomatic sources say Saudi Arabia, which supplies oil to Taiwan, opposed the deal. It was dropped earlier this year.

U.S. officials say there is no question that if China wanted to make an all-out effort either to invade Taiwan or starve it into submission by naval blockade, it has the power to do so in time.

But the aim of U.S. policy is to dissuade it from doing so by a combination of political, economic and military moves.

Militarily it wants to keep the

quality of Taiwan's self-defense forces sufficiently modern so an invasion would be extremely costly. In addition to new planes, therefore, the United States is also considering providing short range Harpoon anti-shiping missiles and small anti-submarine warfare vessels.

But it doesn't want to provide Taiwan with equipment that is superior to what China is expected to have by the mid-1980s. China is now producing the British Spey engine under license and is expected to design a new fighter for that power plant. The British use the Spey in their version of the F-4 fighter-bomber.

Washington, therefore, wouldn't consider selling Taiwan the F-15 or F-16 fighters which are much advanced over the F-4.

Arms

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance told Chinese officials during his visit to Peking last August that the United States was considering providing arms to Taiwan because its current air force and naval weapons would not be regarded as adequate for defense in the 1980s.

But the United States is prepared to sell on a case-by-case basis, certain computers and other high technology gear which has both civil and military applicability if it is convinced Peking will not divert such equipment to military uses. One way to ensure nondiversion

Sources say the Chinese did not like the idea but did not thump the table and declare that in that event normal relations with Peking would be out of the question.

Sources say Brzezinski did not bring up the F-4 question in Peking, in part because the relationship is still regarded as "fragile," in part because the United States hasn't decided exactly what it wants to do and felt it premature to go into specifics with Chinese officials.

The United States does not intend to sell arms to Peking, officials say. But it is prepared to go along with the sales by European allies of certain weapons — such as anti-tank missiles — which would strengthen China's defensive capability against the Soviet Union without upsetting the balance with Taiwan and without raising security worries in either Japan or South Korea.

But the United States is prepared to sell on a case-by-case basis, certain computers and other high technology gear which has both civil and military applicability if it is convinced Peking will not divert such equipment to military uses. One way to ensure nondiversion

would be to allow U.S. officials or even company technical representatives to make occasional visits to where the equipment is being used.

60 Divisions

A U.S. analysis of Chinese military capabilities concludes that while China has sufficient amphibious craft to ferry only three combat divisions across the Taiwan Strait, it would take about 60 divisions to successfully storm the island fortress. Officials say there is no evidence of any significant buildup of amphibious capability.

A major military effort might, of course, bring the U.S. Seventh Fleet to Taiwan's rescue. But beyond the military equation, U.S. officials are persuaded that Peking wants good relations with the United States both as a counter to Soviet designs in Asia and as a source of technology to modernize its society. Military action against Taiwan could jeopardize those larger objectives, officials point out.

Mr. Beecher, diplomatic correspondent of the Boston Globe, was a former deputy defense secretary for public affairs.

Debating the Wrong Question

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — This city is now engaged in a most peculiar foreign policy debate — not about whether the nation's strategic arms policy, its African policy and its Middle Eastern and Chinese policies are right or wrong — but about whether President Carter or Fidel Castro is telling the truth on the invasion of Zaire and about whether Secretary of State Vance or Zbigniew Brzezinski is up or down as the principal foreign policy adviser to President Carter.

"This tells us something about the level of our public discourse," Henry Kissinger remarked to The New York Times on Thursday. "All the evidence is on the president's side, yet here we are engaged in a public argument questioning the honor of the president of the United States."

Washington has always had a tendency to personalize foreign policy, blame its troubles, real or imagined, on conflicting advice by the president's principal advisers, and accuse the president of wobbling inconsistently between the hardliners and the moderates. But seldom to such silly extremes as now.

The cartoonist's picture of Washington presented to the world recently is of a bewildered president shoved in one direction by Brzezinski (the tough guy in this scenario), and tugged in the other direction by Vance, with the politicians cheering and jeering on the side.

This vision fascinates not only journalists but foreign ambassadors in Washington, who have lately been writing endless dispatches about the so-called "power struggle" around the White House, but it's a caricature, exaggerating the obvious, part true but wildly distorted.

Of course there are differences between the president's advisers and always have been since the days of Madison and Jefferson. President Franklin Roosevelt thought the whole decision-making process depended on the clash of conflicting ideas, and he not only invited but provoked controversy within his own cabinet.

There have apparently been two major differences between Vance and Brzezinski, but differences of degree and timing rather than principle. Brzezinski was more eager than Vance and Andrew Young, Carter's friend and ambassador to

the United Nations, to make a big issue out of the Soviet-Cuban military intrusion into Africa. And Vance originally opposed, though he later approved, Brzezinski's mission to Peking.

But in spite of this, if the information here is correct, there is no major "power struggle" or "personality antagonism" within this administration on the major lines of foreign policy.

Differences of tactics, emphasis, and timing, yes — and these are important — but the differences between Vance and Brzezinski seem mild compared to the differences in the past between Secretary of State Rusk and Undersecretary of State Ball over Vietnam; or the brawls between Henry Wallace and Jesse Jones under Roosevelt; or between Secretary of State Acheson and other cabinet members under Truman.

Healthy

These present disputes within the Cabinet, and especially between the Cabinet and the National Security Council are not only inevitable but may be healthy. If we had agreement within the Cabinet and "consistency" of policy in a shifting and ambiguous world, the chances are that things might be even worse than they really are.

So there is disagreement about who lied on the Cubans in Zaire, and who's ahead between Vance and Brzezinski, but on the main questions of arms control, Europe, the Soviet Union, the Middle East, China and Japan, there is a remarkable degree of unity here. The Carter administration may be confused about its priorities and its policies, but it is not confused about Castro, or divided by Vance and Brzezinski.

And there is no doubt about one final thing: as usual, members of the Cabinet and the White House staff are trying to persuade the president to their ways of thinking, but nobody is in doubt here on the central point that President Carter, though he may veer from one side to another, is still clearly in charge.

Letters

Africa Reporting

Poetic license and hyperbole are part of most writers' style, especially of journalists. Most intelligent readers accept this and interpret what they read accordingly. However, there must be limits and I am disappointed that David Lamb overstepped them in his piece "Africa Prospects Drawing Businessmen From Afar" (17T, June 16).

To speak of the world's second-largest continent with 12 million square miles, a population approaching 400 million and with almost 50 sovereign states and cultural-linguistic entities in the hundreds, in such terms as "In Africa the rule is..." is to write like a grade-school student.

It reminds me of a conversation I had during a recent visit to Senegal. I was telling someone that I lived in Senegal, in Africa, and the person said "Oh, I have a good friend in Africa; you must know him." No matter that the friend lived some 2,500 miles from Dakar where I lived.

We must stop talking of Africa as a "country" in the same way we would talk of France, or Italy or Iceland.

Finally, to state that "In Africa, noon is considered to be anything between 10 a.m. and 2 p.m." is stretching hyperbole to limits that border on insult.

JOHN LAIDLAW,
Dakar, Senegal.

View of '68:

A Seedbed Of History

By Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON — A rich crop of 10th anniversary observations sets this year apart from most others. For 1968 was a seedbed of history — a time when momentous stakes claims in a way that fixed the pattern of events for the decade to come.

Looking back we can not only congratulate ourselves on the relative quietening of national life, we can also comprehend how then came into being the most discomfiting feature of the present time — majority greed.

The first of the big events of 1968 was the self-assertion of the young. Student revolt reached the fringes of the Ivy League at Columbia, and a children's crusade, organized around Gene McCarthy, upset a sitting president because of his prosecution of the war in Vietnam.

Two Tragedies

The tragic assassinations later in the year of two cherished leaders — Martin Luther King Jr. and Sen. Robert Kennedy — gave added scope to the demands of the racial minorities. Then there was the Chicago convention, and the joining of youth, the racial minorities and a new feminism in a movement that split the Democratic party.

During the next few years all the minority movements made an enduring mark on U.S. life, they peaked and lost momentum. The young people forced a change in the governance and curriculum of the major universities. As the con of the demonstration against the Cambodian incursion of 1970, the in effect obliged President Nixon to go for a negotiated end to the Vietnam war.

But once the war was over, "the movement" dissipated itself in environmentalism and a variety of other causes. Students lost interest in politics, and after the recession of 1970 and 1971 began once again to concentrate on good grades and entry to the lucrative posts in business and the professions.

Across the Board

The minority groups translated legislation passed under Lyndon Johnson into practical gains across the board. They became a political force in the major cities and the Southern states. They acquired more clout in the job market, and leg up in entry to most universities. But the death of Dr. King removed the leader most able to unify the blacks. They overreached themselves in demands for school busing and various quotas. By the mid-1970s, the Congress, the courts and the electorate were turning against civil rights.

The women made spectacular gains in the job market. Employment rose steadily and they increasingly creamed off good positions in the professions and business.

But efforts to legalize feminist views of rape and abortion met resistance in the courts and legislatures. After first advancing at a great clip, the Equal Rights Amendment fell into a decline which now seems certain to end in failure to change the Constitution.

As the demands for special minority rights waned, the reaction of the majority waned again. There was set in motion a populist wave featuring resentment of the minorities, and the institutions and leaders which had favored them. A fine current example is the so-called tax revolt. It is the negative response of the majority to the levies on property used to pay for services especially important to the minorities.

Mixed Emotions

The move for public subsidy of students, state universities, schools and colleges is more of the same. It is a middle-class device for using the government to get back more of what was previously reserved for the poor.

Finally there is the immense non-response to the energy crisis. It is a case of the majority thumbing its nose at the authorities — both public and private — that have been burdening them for years with unpopular problems.

Comparing the then and now, accordingly, engenders mixed emotions. The tactics devised to foster minority aspirations are now being used by the majority to protect its taste for easy living. The violence has gone out of national politics, but so has the idealism. We are left with the sour realization that when minorities go on a spree, they inevitably license the appetites of the majority.



SOUTH MOLOCCANS ON TRIAL — A group of South Moluccan youngsters demonstrate in the streets of Assen, the Netherlands, with banners and their flag Friday after the state's prosecutor demanded prison sentences of 15 and 18 years for three South Moluccans. The three kept 70 persons hostages in a building in Assen in March and killed two of them.

In Visits to Liberal Democrats

Mondale to Push Carter Spending Cuts

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON, June 16 (WP) — Vice President Mondale said yesterday that he will carry a message of the need for "across-the-board" restraint on domestic spending to the Democratic Party's liberal constituencies in coming weeks. He predicted that most of them will accept President Carter's decisions to hold down spending, even on programs that have been at the heart of the Democratic platform.

In an interview with The Washington Post in his White House office, Mr. Mondale said that the current review sessions of the fiscal 1980 budget have left him with "a sobered realization... of the very real and tight budget constraints on all aspects of programs" that the fight on inflation will require.

Mr. Mondale, considered by many the most important liberal voice in the administration, will test his hold-the-line rhetoric before an important and skeptical audience next Tuesday, when he speaks for the White House to the U.S. Conference of Mayors convention in Atlanta — a day after Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., speaks to the same audience.

Mayors Complaining
Key mayors have complained already that budget-cutting is a threat to Mr. Carter's new urban policy, especially in the aftermath of local tax reductions ordered by such measures as California's Proposition 13.

But Mr. Mondale said, "We're not doing our traditional constituents any good if we raise expectations unrealistically or pursue budgetary policies that re-ignite inflation."

"I consider myself a progressive," he said, "and I don't see anything inherent between those general social objectives and the need for prudent economic policies to avoid inflation."

The vice president said that he thought the Carter economy moves would be accepted by liberals because "within the limits of our budgetary situation, we're making choices in a progressive way," still emphasizing education, health and "sound programs for humane objectives."

But he conceded that budgetary restraints will have an impact on the soon-to-be-announced Carter design for a national health insur-

ance program, long a key objective of Democratic liberals.

Mr. Mondale also defended Mr. Carter's warnings to the Soviet Union and to Cuba on their actions in Africa — also a subject of some criticism from liberal Democrats.

Speaking of Africa, he said, "The Russians are trying to exploit differences and disputes wherever they can... They prefer to radicalize a situation rather than resolve it."

Asked how he assessed Soviet objectives in Africa, Mr. Mondale said, "I think they're trying to establish their influence and domination in as many places as they can... in the Horn, in Angola, in just about any place they can."

But the vice president said he thought that the Soviet tactics may backfire. "There is a growing restiveness in Africa about Soviet and Cuban activities," reflected in the diplomatic cables he reads, he said.

Like Mr. Carter, Mr. Mondale discounted the possibility of major U.S. countermoves against Soviet-Cuban actions in Africa, but said that, if countries friendly to the West "were threatened, we might have to tilt" current U.S. economic aid programs "more toward the military side." He said, "There is no intention of establishing a military presence there."

Although he delivered a speech to the United Nations disarmament conference, that was sharply critical of the Soviet military buildup, Mr. Mondale has not been publicly vocal in the recent debate over U.S.-Soviet policy.

Made Suggestions

He was not among the five senior administration officials who met with Mr. Carter on the Sunday before the president's Annapolis address, which restated the administration policy on relations with the Soviet Union, Mr. Mondale laughingly explained. "I was at a

Star Publisher Named

NEW YORK, June 16 (NYT) — Time Inc., which acquired The Washington Star in February for \$20 million, named two of its own executives, George Hoyt and Murray Galt, to the newspaper's top two positions — publisher and editor — yesterday.

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International Executive Search Newsletter

By T. R. Reid

WASHINGTON, June 16 (WP) — The Carter administration said yesterday that it will let U.S. refiners start exporting some domestic oil products to Japan and to other buyers to reduce a glut of heavy crude oil on the West Coast.

Such export proposals have met with emotional opposition in Congress in the past, from members who say it is absurd to export U.S. oil at the same time that the country is importing so much foreign oil at great cost.

"If you've got a shortage that is the moral equivalent of war," how can you export what you're short of?" Sen. John Durkin, D-N.H., asked later. Mr. Carter used that phrase on April 20 last year when he sent his energy plan to Congress.

But major oil companies, particularly those with large new supplies flowing into the West Coast from Alaska, have pressed for permission to export as a way of reducing the glut, which has threatened to depress oil prices.

Refined Products
The decision to grant export licenses is part of a complicated package of new U.S. energy regulations announced at the White House yesterday by Energy Secretary James Schlesinger. The export decision applies only to residual fuel oil, a refined product, and not to crude oil.

The regulations include other steps to ease the West Coast glut, and a proposal to triple subsidies paid to East Coast refiners who import residual fuel oil. The subsidies are paid by refiners elsewhere in the

7 Held in Drug Raid
Near Gulf of Mexico

HENDERSON, La., June 16 (UPI) — A tractor-trailer loaded with about 30 tons of high-grade Colombian marijuana, worth an estimated \$23 million, today was intercepted by drug agents and U.S. Customs officers. Seven men were arrested.

It was the second major marijuana discovery in southern Louisiana in recent weeks. Last month, about 12 tons of marijuana were seized near Grand Isle on the Gulf coast.

Vietnamese Seen Moving In

China Reported to Be Leaving Laos

By George McArthur

BANGKOK, June 16 — China has abruptly pulled all of its troops out of a big area in northern Laos where they have been building and guarding a road network for 17 years, reliable sources say.

The withdrawal was obviously precipitated by the growing dispute between China and Vietnam. And the prospect now, diplomatic sources say, is that the Vietnamese — who have about 40,000 men in Laos — will take effective control of the areas vacated by the Chinese.

The China-Vietnam dispute has been fueled by Vietnam's border war with Cambodia, a Chinese ally, and more recently by Hanoi's treatment of ethnic Chinese in Vietnam. The underlying cause, however, is China's anger and apprehension over growing Soviet influence in Vietnam — and consequently in Laos, which has become a client state of Vietnam.

Over the past 17 years the Chinese have built about 500 miles of two-lane, paved roads in Laos. When construction was at its peak three years ago, the Chinese had 18,000 combat and engineer troops in the country. The number fell off

but was still believed to be 10,000 or more.

The withdrawal took place last month. It evidently involved at least three engineer regiments, plus support troops and the headquarters unit which had been stationed at the town of Nam Bac in the center of northern Laos. At first the Chinese had left the headquarters unit in place, perhaps planning to keep token forces in the area, but they removed it late in the month.

The withdrawal leaves a power vacuum in much of the north and northwest. In the years since the road-building agreement was negotiated with Laos in 1961, Chinese control tended to follow the road network. It was lightly exercised in some areas but was particularly tight in the far northwest and along roads extending to the Thai border.

As recently as last April, diplomats say, the Chinese were confident that they would remain in Laos. They had completed the last segment of their planned road network but were confident that the Laotians would accept an offer to continue the road from Nam Bac to the old royal capital of Luang Prabang. Laotian Premier Kaysone Phomvihane, who is half Vietnamese and Hanoi-educated, had evidently reached a different conclusion.

Few believed that the Chinese would pull out of an area they had diligently cultivated for so many years, and in which they held sway. Yet the pullback began almost immediately. Diplomatic sources caution that China was long entrenched in the area and might maintain its domination through local people it has installed in power.

Thai officials are worried. Movement of Vietnamese forces into the vacated area would increase Hanoi's influence on Communist

country and are presumably passed on to those refiners' customers.

The immediate result, Mr. Schlesinger said, will be to reduce fuel prices in the East and to raise them slightly — about 1/2 cent per gallon — for consumers in the rest of the country.

Operations Slowed

Mr. Schlesinger said that, over the long run, the complex set of rules will increase demand for, and production of, domestic oil and thus reduce imports. But he also conceded that, to some extent, the decision to permit exports will work against that long-range goal. He said exports had to be authorized because "California has a particular problem."

Fuel oil refined from West Coast crude is hard to sell domestically,

because it is expensive to transport to U.S. markets and because its high-sulfur content causes air pollution. Western refiners, holding excessive stocks of fuel oil that they cannot sell, have slowed all refining operations, Mr. Schlesinger said, including production of gasoline and other refined products for which there is a demand.

Mr. Schlesinger said that permission to export will help the firms unload 30 million barrels of residual fuel oil now in storage. Then they will increase refining operations and produce the needed gasoline, he said.

But he conceded that granting export licenses will reduce the pressure on West Coast firms to invest in new production facilities and pipelines that would make the West Coast fuel oil marketable in the

eastern and midwestern United States.

New production and transport facilities, he said, are "the obvious long-term solution" to the West Coast glut. Exporting, he said, is "a short-term solution at best." Export licenses will be granted only on a temporary basis, Mr. Schlesinger added, but he did not say for how long.

The Carter administration has resisted the oil companies' requests for export licenses, largely because of congressional opposition. Last July, President Carter turned down Mr. Schlesinger's proposal to let oil from Alaskan fields be sold to Japan.

Sen. Durkin said that he would introduce legislation Monday to prohibit export of any domestic oil, crude or refined. "The president's

going to look like a damn fool, letting Schlesinger do this," he said. "I don't think Congress will buy it."

Nurses Go on Strike At British Hospital

LONDON, June 16 (UPI) — Nurses in surgical masks walked a picket line around a London hospital today while a government minister warned that a wider hospital strike would be "catastrophic."

Thirty-two nurses at the 700-bed Greenwich District Hospital went on a picket line, joined by a surgeon who has worked at the hospital for 25 years plus cleaners and tea women, to protest the firing of a nurse. Operations ceased in the hospital last night.

500-Mile Route Is Faster Than Sea Lanes

New Highway in Pakistan to Link China to the West

ABBOTTABAD, Pakistan, June 16 (Reuters) — China draws closer to the West with the opening Sunday of the Karakoram Highway.

The 500-mile all-weather road stretches from the border of China's Sinkiang province to a few miles north of Pakistan's capital of Islamabad.

Thus China will get "back door" access to the Middle East and Africa as well as a much quicker route to the West.

The new highway, connecting with a railroad in China, will cut days — perhaps weeks — off the present sea route from China to the West across the Pacific.

The twisting highway, carved out of the walls of mountains, climbing 15,000 feet over the Khunjerab Pass and crossing swirling torrents fed by surrounding glaciers, will speed goods and equipment towards the port at Karachi for transshipment.

The highway also opens up remote areas of Pakistan, peopled by tribes whose main contact with the outside world has been through a small barter trade across the border with China.

It should also open up to tourism the northern mountains — extensions of the Himalayas — that are

at present served only by two small airstrips.

The opening of the highway, after 20 years of labor during which much of the necessary explosives and supplies could get through only on the backs of porters, also comes at a convenient time for Pakistan.

It is seen as strengthening Chinese influence here at a time when Pakistan is concerned about the Soviet Union's next step after the successful pro-Communist coup in neighboring Afghanistan.

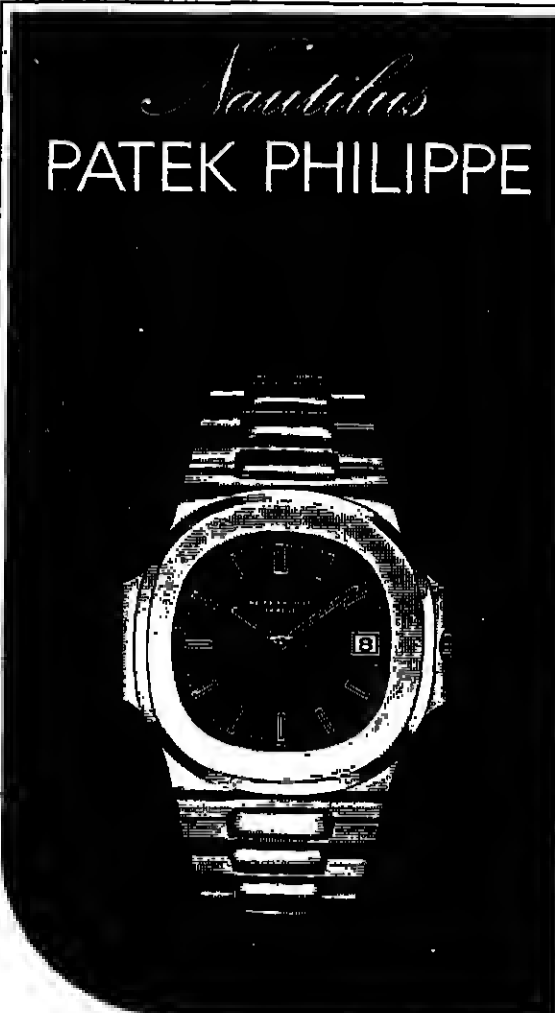
The Soviet Union is reported to have sent signals to Pakistan that it would like it to adopt a more pro-Moscow foreign policy. "One of the Soviet Union's main aims here has been to lessen the grip of Chinese influence and there is no doubt it would have preferred it if the highway had not been built," a Western intelligence source said.

10,000 Chinese

The road was built partly by a work force of 10,000 Chinese. Local Pakistani tribesmen occasionally blocked the road in protest of the amount of compensation paid for their land.

The highway has been off limits for foreigners since the Chinese joined the project in 1974, and foreigners will still need special permission to use it, at least for some time.

Pakistan Army engineers had already spent 15 years cutting their way northwards before the Chinese arrived.



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SENIOR EXECUTIVE JOB GUIDE

Published at the end of the week, this is a compilation of senior level job opportunities from selected publications. Senior level jobs published by the International Herald Tribune through Tuesday automatically appear in this feature. To place an advertisement in "INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE OPPORTUNITIES," contact our office in your country (listed on back page) Any questions or comments concerning this feature can be directed to Miss Juanita Caspari in the Paris office.

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SALES MANAGERS	Exceptional	Leading Middle-East distributor of large-scale hardware.	Middle East	Engineers, capable of discussing & assessing product applications; Eng., Arabic, +	Ref. INT 102, Mobilisatorm, Thorburn & Co., Case Postale 3967, 1102 Lausanne.	L.H.T. 8-6-78
PERSONNEL MANAGER U.K.	Excellent & benefits package	Santa Fe Engineering & Construction Company.	U.K.	Degree in bus. & min. 3-5 yrs. exp. in all phases of personnel admin./mngt.	A. Paul Zuma, Santa Fe Engineering & Construction Co., 6161 Sarney Dr., Suite 410, Houston, TX 77036.	L.H.T. 8-6-78
GROUP DEVELOPMENT MANAGER	c. US\$ 45,000 + bonus	Large & well established publicly quoted group of Co. in South East Asia.	Singapore	Success. executive with 1st class track record in gen. mngt.; around 40.	Ref. BE115, P.R. Broadbridge, Coopers & Lybrand As. Ltd., Shackley House, Hobbs St., London EC2V7DL.	Economist 10-6-78
GROUP ACCOUNTANT DEVELOPMENT	c.£\$30,000 + bonus	Large & well established publicly quoted group of Co. in South East Asia.	Singapore	Chartered or certified accountant; Acc. positive approach & high degree of tech. competence.	Ref. BE116, P.R. Broadbridge, Coopers & Lybrand As. Ltd., Shackley House, Hobbs St., London EC2V7DL.	Economist 10-6-78
CONSUMER STRATEGY MANAGER	FF 158,405- FF 207,290	Texas Instruments (European semiconductor group).	Mex. France + travel	Min. 5 yrs. in leading cons. co.; Excel. system understanding of major cons. and equip.; Eng.	European Personnel Director, Texas Instruments France, B.P.5, 98278 Villeneuve-Loubet, France.	Frankfurter All. Zeit. 10-6-78
EUROPEAN TAX MANAGER	From \$30,000 + benefits	Major Company in data processing industry	London, Paris or Zurich	30+ yrs. min. 4 yrs. at senior level in practice or in European ind. or commerce; Eng., Fr.	David Presser, ref. WGS/3658, Bridge Waterhouse As., 32 London Bridge Street, London SE1 9SY.	Economist 10-6-78
MEMBER OF THE BOARD (TECHNICAL)	According to importance	Construction co. (streets, bridges...)	Vienna	40-45; prof. experience similar post.	Mr. Richard K. Schenker, Z.A.V., Auslandsstellenleitung, Feuerbachstr. 42, 6000 Frankfurt 1, Tel.: 0611/71111.	Frankfurter All. Zeit. 10-6-78
MANAGING DIRECTOR SWITZERLAND	Satisfactory	Limberger & Giger (consultants).	Switz.	Fin./adm. background; 40+; mngt. exp.; Ger., Ital.	Limberger & Giger, Untermeilenstrasse 10, 7000 Freiburg i. Br.	Frankfurter All. Zeit. 10-6-78
MANAGING DIRECTOR SCANDINAVIA		Karl O. Rehn (chemicals).	Copenhagen	Exp. similar position.	Mr. Rehn, Karl O. Rehn, 3 Høvring 1, Høvringvej 20, Tel.: 046/2 08 31.	Frankfurter All. Zeit. 10-6-78
EUROPEAN PRODUCT MKTG. MANAGER		National semi-conductor.	Near Munich + travel	Qual. in electronics engineering; previous exp. in semiconductor mktg. environment; Eng. + Fr. or Ger.	Andreas Ruchels, National Semiconductor GmbH, Industriestrasse 10, 8000 Fürstendalbruck, Tel.: 08141/1031.	Frankfurter All. Zeit. 10-6-78
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DIRECTOR INT'L PUBLIC RELATIONS	High level	Leading corp. (political, commercial, ind. and tech. spheres).	Switz.	35-50; univ. educ.; knowl. econ. & ind. bus.; journalism studies or exp. in it; Eng., Fr., +	Ref. GWS22-SINT, Dr. J. de V. Hensfield, PA Management, Kreuzstrasse 26, 8000 Zurich, Tel.: 34 69 38.	L.H.T. 13-6-78

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Theater in London

Enormous Power of Rudkin's 'The Sons of Light'

By John Walker

LONDON, June 16 (IHT) — David Rudkin's "The Sons of Light" at the Royal Shakespeare Company's Warehouse Theatre is an extraordinary and individual play, powerful and haunting, the work of a writer capable of confronting the darkness in our souls.

The play has a ruggedness about it, as if it had been hewn out of rock or some equally intransigent material, as in a sense it has. Rudkin began the play more than 10 years ago, two years after the sensational success of his first work, "Afore Night Come," about ritual murder, in an RSC season devoted to the "Theater of Cruelty."

In its first draft, the play ran for eight hours and, to use Rudkin's own words, had "scenes in it of an insanity, cruelty and obscurity far exceeding anything I had ever seen on the stage." Traces of that still remain: There is one scene that takes place over the dismembered body of a man. But the cruelty and insanity — for the play deals with the degradation of society, of terror and of enslavement by false ideals — is now felt rather than expressed, a brooding presence behind the play.

Rudkin rewrote the play, when it was rejected by the RSC and the National. He rewrote it again and submitted it to these two theaters, both of which ignored it. Altogether, the

play has gone through six versions and has now reached a manageable length of two-and-a-half hours.

A New World

It is still not perfect. The compression leads to some confusion. Rudkin in the play has created a new world — a society based on repression and cruelty, sustained by specially created myths — to illuminate this one. In this, he seems closer to William Blake at his most prophetic than to other dramatists.

But the play can contain intense emotional pressures better than Rudkin's "Ashes," written after "The Sons of Light" but staged before it a couple of years ago, in which a private situation — a cou-

ple going through clinical humiliations in an attempt to have a child — and a public one — the present troubles in Ireland — were yoked together with angry incoherence.

"The Sons of Light" contrasts an individual's progress from schizophrenia to wholeness with the complementary destruction of a society based on industrial slavery and maintained by manipulative dreams of future paradise.

Under Ron Daniels' firm direction, the play has a strong narrative drive of a many-times-told myth or legend. A pastor and his three sons arrive at a remote Scottish island to take over the church. They find the islanders lapsed into a rigid and vengeful religion, giving active or passive support to a vile social experiment. For part of the island is a paramilitary establishment where scientists break down the people's personalities by homosexual violence and repress them as automatons who work underground in huge slave factories.

Darkness to Light

The gradual revelation of these horrors is marvelously contrived in the first half of the play. In the second half, the move from darkness to light is less effective and the ending comes as an anti-climax. Rudkin's words — a dense, powerful language for the most part — fail him here.

There are also unresolved elements. Some children, grotesque, deformed creatures that the islanders claim were drowned 19 years before as a sign of God's wrath, make a brief appearance but they no longer seem to have any organic connection with the rest of the play. And the brainwashed slaves, who not only believe in a myth that



THE GUARDS in David Rudkin's new play, "The Sons of Light," in the Royal Shakespeare Company's production, are (left to right) David Threlfall, Ian McNeice and Richard Derrington.

a king will call them to paradise but actually see the king walking among them, identify a stranger as an angel, a concept they should not know.

Occasionally, too, the work comes close to a parody of this kind of drama, with characters bearing tongue-twisting names — Yescanab and Child Manatond, for example — and going noisily mad. And Rudkin's scientist, Nebewohl, is the usual nutty cliché with Ger-

manic accent. Dr. Strangelove in two pairs of dark glasses. Nevertheless, the play has an immense sweep and power, in which the form and content are often fused into an exciting whole. For those with strong stomachs and open minds, it is an unforgettable experience.

At the Greenwhich Theatre, "The Golden Cradle" is a delightful evening of five short Irish plays by writers associated with the Abbey Theatre. In fact, W.B. Yeats' "The Pot of Broth" predates the founding of the Abbey and his "Purgatory" was his last dramatic work, written in 1939. Praised by T.S. Eliot for its mastery of dramatic verse, "Purgatory" fares least well, played, as it is, on a bare stage.

"The Pot of Broth," though, is an enjoyable peasant farce of a beggar man tricking a mean housewife. And Yeats' "The Cat and the Moon," with its blind beggar and lame beggar in dispute, comes across as a forerunner of "Waiting for Godot."

The evening opens with Lady Gregory's "The Rising of the Moon," a neat political play in which an Irish policeman recogniz-

es his kinship with a nationalist leader on the run, and ends with J.M. Synge's "Riders to the Sea," in which Siobhán McKenna, who also directs the plays, lets loose her plangent, sobbing musical voice to moving effect. Other excellent Irish actors involved include T.P. McKenna, Niall Buggy and Kate Binchy.

At the Shaw, Arnold Wesker's trilogy comes to an end with "I'm Talking About Jerusalem," his study of a failure in rural socialism because of the lack of a community to sustain it. It begins in optimism, with the postwar Labor government of 1946, and ends in disillusion in 1959, although even at the end Wesker's family, the Kahns, are still in full voice, in emotional contact with one another.

It has been an enjoyable and enlightening experience to see Wesker's early plays again, for the trilogy gains from being staged in its entirety. But what the productions have shown is that Wesker is a better dramatist now than he was then. And the Shaw would be doing an even greater service if they were to stage some of his more recent, and even more neglected, works.

Glazunov Attacked By Pravda

By Peggy Polk

MOSCOW, June 16 (UPI) — The Communist party newspaper Pravda attacked one of the Soviet Union's best-known painters yesterday for dwelling on the country's Russian past instead of its Communist present.

The newspaper commented on a retrospective exhibition of 400 representational works by Ilya Glazunov, which is attracting some of the largest Moscow crowds in memory.

An estimated 15,000 to 20,000 people have been lining up daily to see the show, which opened June 2 in the Manege, Moscow's largest exhibition hall.

Glazunov, 48, is a maverick among official Soviet painters. Despite his international reputation for portraits of kings, politicians and movie stars, he often is at odds with the Union of Artists and a year ago canceled an exhibition because authorities banned one of his paintings as an "anti-Soviet caricature."

"Thinking Man"

Pravda praised what it called the "depth" of Glazunov's work and said he was "a thinking man who is searching for responses to the complicated questions of contemporary life."

But it accused him of a "one-sided approach to choosing themes" and criticized his "passion for religious motifs and emphasizing tragic elements of Russian history."

Glazunov's paintings did not sufficiently reflect "those moments and driving forces of history which gave birth to the mighty Soviet state and real democratic culture," Pravda said.

Pravda singled out Glazunov's ideologically daring "Return of the Prodigal Son," which is the focus of attention by visitors to the show.

The painting shows the repentant youth turning his back on the evils of modern life to kneel before a Christ-like figure receiving him into the ranks of such Russian cultural heroes as Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Rachmaninoff.

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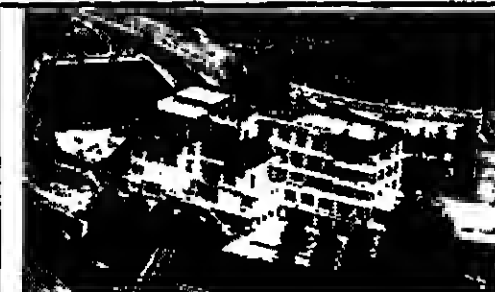
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The Art Market

When French Use Their Expertise

By Souren Melikian

PARIS, June 16 (IHT) — For the second week French auctioneers have scored a significant success. Following the exceptional Jacques Villon print sale (IHT, June 10-11), the same auctioneering group of Ader-Picard-Tajan held on Tuesday an excellent sale of old master drawings and oils which went well despite the fact that 17 lots remained unsold out of 51.

Watteau sketch of two women fetched 517,000 francs in Paris sale on Tuesday.

Tuesday, the auctioneers had gone out of their way to present a consistent sale. They had induced a colleague of theirs, Paul Renaud, to include three of his lots in their sale. A tiny but very delicate seascape all in subtle grays by Jan Van Goyen was knocked down at 23,000 francs, a pleasing if not very important view of a street in Cologne, attributed to Jan Van der Heyden (1637-1712) sold for 36,800 francs and a very good still life done in the first half of the 18th century and somewhat improbably attributed to Jean-Baptiste Oudry sold for 72,000 francs.

More remarkable still, in view of the fact that Paris auctioneers have been known to include a "Virgin and Child" from the school of Raphael, which had been sent in by Maître L. Savot of Orleans. It brought only 35,700 francs — a good price for an anonymous picture of uncertain authorship in poor condition — but is important for the new trend of thinking it points to. Paris auctioneers are beginning to realize that joining forces is an essential condition if they are to build up large-scale auctions of an international standing.

Although Tuesday's auction was

only a start in the right direction, the results were financially convincing. The number of lots and the importance of a few of them succeeded in attracting an unusually large, professional attendance. French drawings of the 18th century went through the roof. Sales-room habitués started in surprise at two drawings by Louis Leopold Boilly (1761-1845) soared to a fantastic 77,500 francs and 61,000 francs. Done in pen wash and gouache, they illustrate Paris street scenes in a humorous mood imitated from the English school. A small exquisite landscape in colored pencils by Jean Pillement (1727-1808), dated 1794, went up to 11,400 francs and two very charming sketches of rabbits and sleeping dogs brought 25,800 francs.

That served as an hors d'oeuvre to an important sepias wash by Jean-Honore Fragonard, reproduced a great many times, and an even better-known sketch in black pencil, and red and white chalk, by Antoine Watteau. However famous these may be, no one expected

them to rise respectively to 473,000 francs and 517,000 francs, easily setting world records for drawings by both masters. In both cases, the buyer was a well-known Paris dealer or acting, according to professional sources, on behalf of an American collector who has recently stepped into the market of 18th-century drawings of the French school.

This has, of course, given the whole market a tremendous boost. Nevertheless, prices would not have been so high had it not been for the competition of other interested buyers, who in turn congregated in large numbers because the well-balanced sale was genuinely attractive.

The effect of this organization was less noticeable on oils, partly because few of the main buyers, who are British, had bothered to come and partly because of the paintings — none quite matched the two drawings in rarity and quality.

Two Still Lifes

However, a fine still life by the Flemish artist Ambrosius Bosschaert, who worked in the first half

of the 17th century, brought 361,000 francs, which is certainly not less than the price it might have made in London, and a pleasing still life by Jan Van Huysum, dated 1736, rose to 121,000 francs, which is about right. All told, only one picture sold cheaply, a brilliant work by Melchior de Hondereot (1636-1695) showing a bird of prey swooping on fowls scuttling off in every direction. At 55,000 francs, it was the day's bargain and will no doubt reappear sooner or later at three times that figure.

The lesson is obvious. Paris can make it if auctioneers are willing to make a greater effort toward pooling artistic resources. Catalogs have recently improved in several categories while in others, such as Islamic art, they are sadly inadequate.

If an extra effort is made here, as well as in those fields where expertise is notoriously inferior to that of London, France will stand a better chance in international competition.

Art in Paris

Uniting to Publish Serious Books on Art History

By Michael Gibson

PARIS, June 16 (IHT) — A group of French professional men with an interest in art history recently became aware of the fact that the publication of serious works in this field was virtually impossible in France for a variety of reasons. The problems, however, did not seem insuperable to them.

They got in touch with some of their friends in museums and universities and, with their help and counseling, set up a nonprofit organization, Arthena (35 Ave. de Neuilly, Paris 7), whose vocation was to become the publication of well-illustrated critical works of technical interest to the art market.

"The problem is by no means only a French one," says Pierre Rosenberg, a curator of paintings at the Louvre and one of the three editorial directors of the venture. He said that university presses in the United States were almost always out of business as far as publishing art books is concerned. The market is too restricted," he said.

"Financially," said Jacques Foucart, like Mr. Rosenberg a curator at the Louvre and a director of Arthena, "forty people got together and put up a sum of money to cover the publication of the first two volumes. They also gave a lot of their time and expertise. One of them has put his firm's computer at our disposal and we have a list of over 10,000 names of persons and institutions which would conceivably be interested in these works. The idea is to sell enough of the first two volumes at a reasonable price to finance the next works on the list."

The first works, to be published at the end of this month, are a new illustrated reprint of "La Peinture d'Histoire en France de 1747 a

1785" by Jean Loquin, originally published in 1912, which art historians consider a basic work on this period, and a monograph by Nicole Wilk-Brocaded devoted to Francois Guillaume Menagot, a "peintre d'histoire" whose reputation was considerable in the 18th century and who has since suffered from almost total neglect. This work recently obtained a prize offered by the Paul Caillex Foundation.

"Our intention," Mr. Rosenberg said, "is to publish works devoted to French art of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. And we have chosen to favor French art because each country has its own specific problems and Italy, to take an example, has much fewer in this area than we do in France. Their publishing firms are much stronger than their French counterparts and also they are favored by a legislation which

encourages banks to play a role as patrons of the arts."

Michel Lacotte, chief curator of paintings at the Louvre, pointed out that the nonprofit approach chosen by Arthena is to the advantage of the purchaser: "People like ourselves," he said, "pointing to two colleagues, 'whose profession requires them to build up a private library of works on art history, can no longer afford to do so. Nowadays, works can easily cost as much as \$100. Now we intend our prices to be kept as low as possible. Loquin's work will be selling for \$38 and Mrs. Wilk-Brocaded's work on Menagot will cost \$29." (Mr. Lacotte is a member of the group's Comité Scientifique advisory board. Other board members include Sir Anthony Blunt, curator of Britain's royal collections, Francis Haskell, professor of art history at Oxford, Robert Herbert of Yale

and Robert Rosenblum of New York University.)

Also, he continued, as more and more French drawings of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries turn up in auctions, collectors are beginning to take an interest in this field and reference works, which are still not available, will then be in demand. So that Arthena's venture appears to have come at the right moment.

"As things now stand," Mr. Rosenberg said, "Not a single work exists on La Hire or Le Brun; there is nothing on any of our 17th-century painters. This would be inconceivable for artists of equal importance if they were Italian, German or English. So there is a gap to fill. But this does not mean that we will turn down a first-rate study of an Italian painter or sculptor if it is submitted to us one day. And of course we have no restrictions as to the nationality of our authors."

—MICHAEL GIBSON.

and Robert Rosenblum of New York University.)

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—MICHAEL GIBSON.

Senators Back N.Y. Debt Fund

WASHINGTON, June 16 (IHT) — The Senate Banking Committee voted 15 to 0 yesterday to authorize \$1.5 billion in long-term guarantees for New York City debt, but it prepared to set both strict preconditions before the assistance could be given and tight controls to monitor it.

The unanimous vote on the city's behalf left the large contingent of city supporters who jammed the committee room with mixed emotions: Elated that they had convinced a wary committee to provide the help but chagrined that it was \$500 million less than the House had approved.

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Art in Washington

Looking Into 'Subjects' and Abstract Expressionism

By Hilton Kramer

WASHINGTON (NYT) — It was to be expected that the National Gallery of Art would inaugurate its new East Building with, among much else, a major exhibition of abstract expressionism. One of the functions of the East Building is to serve as a showcase of modern art, and abstract expressionism is, after all, the American movement that has won this country its principal claim to a place in the international annals of modern art — a not unimportant consideration for a National Gallery of Art.

In preparation for this event — and as a visible sign of its commitment to build a permanent collection in this field — the museum has recently acquired, among other works, a version of Arshile Gorky's "The Plow and the Song," Jackson Pollock's "Lavender Mist" and David Smith's "Voltri VII." It also commissioned from Robert Motherwell a new and very large painting in his ongoing series of "Elegies to the Spanish Republic." It is around these works that E.A. Carmean Jr., curator of 20th-century art at the National Gallery, has constructed the inaugural exhibition called "American Art at Mid-Century: The Subjects of the Artists."

Yet this exhibition, as the word "subjects" in its title implies, is also intended to give us a new perspective — or rather, to revive an old one — on the movement it encompasses. It is designed to make us conscious of the question of "subject matter" in a branch of abstract art that in recent years has been very largely treated as a purely formalistic enterprise.

Seven Artists
Toward this end, Carmean has selected from the oeuvre of seven artists — Willem de Kooning, Barnett Newman and Mark Rothko are the other artists represented here — only those works that, in his view, exemplify this interest in a specific "subject" or theme. And in the ambitious catalog that Carmean and his collaborators have produced for the occasion, the question of what constitutes a "subject" for these artists in these particular works is explored at length.

The exhibition itself, consisting of more than 60 paintings and sculptures, may be enjoyed, of course, quite apart from the didactic program that governs it. The primary function of an art exhibition, be it remembered, is not to instruct us in the annals of art history or to serve as the basis of a theory, but to give us pleasure — the sort of pleasure that only art of a certain quality and power can bring to our experience. In this respect, certainly, there is more than enough in the "Subjects of the Artists" exhibition to satisfy all but the most diehard opponents of modernist painting and sculpture.

Especially in the north tower gallery, containing 13 of the 26 open-form steel sculptures produced by David Smith in a single month in Italy in 1962, the visitor to this exhibition is offered one of the most exhilarating experiences that modern art is capable of providing. Smith was a truly great artist, and this installation of his work — designed to



Detail of a De Kooning "Woman," painted in 1948.

resemble the ancient amphitheater at Spoleto where these sculptures were first shown in the year they were made — is one of the most inspired presentations of his work any museum has yet given us. It alone makes this exhibition an imperative event for anyone interested in modern art.

Experiences
But elsewhere, too — in the galleries devoted to De Kooning's "Women" paintings, Motherwell's "Elegies," Gorky's "The Plow and the Song" series, and what used to be called Pollock's "drip" paintings but that are now dubbed "poured" paintings — we are treated to a succession of experiences that go a long way (even if not all the way) toward establishing the classic modalities of abstract expressionism.

Simply in terms of what meets the eye in this exhibition, its weakest sections are those devoted to Rothko and Newman. To represent Rothko on this occasion, Carmean has selected eight works on paper from the summer of 1969 — a se-

ries of bleak and rather desperate brown and gray abstractions, never before exhibited, likely to be of more documentary than aesthetic interest. They completely fail to do justice to what Rothko's art was at its best. Newman is accorded an ampler representation in the series of abstract paintings, executed between 1958 and 1966, that pleased this curious artist to call "The Stations of the Cross" — paintings that beg the whole question of the "subject" of abstract art without in any way illuminating it, and without offering the eye very much to savor, either.

But what about the whole question of subject matter in abstract expressionism, which it is the avowed purpose of the exhibition to clarify? Are we now brought appreciably closer to understanding what it means for abstract art to make claim to a "subject" that is not, literally or sometimes even symbolically, depicted in the work itself?

The Answer
So far as the exhibition is concerned, I think the answer must be: No, not quite. What is illuminated in the exhibition is something else — the way certain forms, certain visual themes or motifs, certain ways of handling space and the materials used to define it, are made to serve to lie of a legible or definable subject. There are, of course, important differences among the artists represented in this exhibition. Gorky, De Kooning and Smith obviously make use of the sort of iconographical materials the other artists here eschew, and we feel the difference in our experience of their work. But this iconography is not what a "subject" is either; it is too quickly absorbed into the imperatives of style.

And if the visual themes we observe in the work of all seven of these artists cannot be experienced as "subjects," why should we be asked to cling to the use of this word, which suggests the absence of the very thing we are asked to believe is present? It is not "subjects" that abstract expressionism offers us but evocative forms — forms that signify emotions that, given the terms of their expression, are precisely not meant to be experienced as "subjects."

Exactly what these emotions are, and to what extent they may or may not be construed as "subjects," is a problem for criticism — and it is in the critical texts of the catalog, rather than in the galleries of the exhibition, that Carmean and his collaborators — Eliza E. Rathbone and Thomas B. Hess — labor prodigiously to search out some answers. I am not myself convinced that they have found them. There is a great deal of intelligent writing and some serious scholarship to be found in these texts, and

enough footnotes to sink a ship. For this reason, the catalog will prove to be a valuable academic resource.

But all of this research, speculation and exposition leaves the subject of "subjects" in abstract expressionism as elusive as ever. Is it, perhaps, because the art itself simply does not support this kind of inquiry — because, in attempting to approach the problem of "subjects" in a new way, the abstract expressionists soon discovered that their true interests, their true feelings and their true artistic imperatives were elsewhere? The exhibition in the East Building would seem to suggest that this is the case.

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